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OUR ECONOMIC STRUGGLE AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

Behind All Political Warfare, is an
Economic Struggle—Chattel Slav-
ery and Capitalism—Rise of
a Capitalist Party

REACTIONARY DEMOCRACY

The Struggle of the Century in America Has
Produced the Economic Wage Slave
—Evolution to Socialism

By J. W. Brown

"However the battle is ended,
Tho' proudly the victor comes
With fluttering flags and prancing nags
And echoing rolling drums,
Still truth proclaims this motto
In letters of living light
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right."

Every economic struggle is a political struggle, and back of every political struggle is an economic struggle. A century and a quarter ago the American colonies became involved in an economic struggle which finally culminated in political action, and on Sept. 17, 1787, the federal compact now known as the "divine constitution" was agreed upon by the representatives of the various colonies to be the political embodiment of their economic conditions. It is perhaps well to note here that this "divine constitution" embodied discriminations against the colored man, with chattel slavery for its corner-stone. This was a serious mistake, which, later on, nearly cost the life of the American union. The growing industry of the north undermined chattel slavery and drove it south, and from the date of the adoption of the federal compact until 1865 the United States were divided into two distinct political oligarchies, resting on two distinct economic systems. In the north was the growing industrial system, in the south the decaying chattel slave system. The antagonisms set in motion as the result of these conflicting economic forces reflected themselves in the political institutions of that period, calling forth the various compromise acts, including the "Dred Scott" decision of the Supreme court, and finally culminating in the proclamation for the emancipation of the chattel slave in 1863.

The capitalists of the north had nothing in common with the slave lords of the south. The political machinery of the nation could no longer be operated so as to be beneficial to both these contending economic systems, and after several attempts on the part of the northern capitalists to formulate a political party that would give political expression to their economic needs, succeeded in 1860, and the republican party came into power as the foremost political party, representing the interests of America's growing capitalist system.

In order that the republican party might perpetuate itself in power the "free ballot," which has been designated as a weapon that executes a free man's will as lightning does the will of the Almighty, was, in 1865, extended to the whole population, black as well as white.

Experience, however, teaches that it avails us but little to be politically free if we are economic slaves. For, notwithstanding we have the free ballot, with free schools and free public libraries, yet the economic status of the American citizen has changed during the period of the nation's life from that of an economically free and independent citizen to that of an economic, dependent wage slave, while the new century finds the American people again divided into two distinct camps, two classes directly facing each other—namely, capitalists and wage workers. These economic conditions again reflect themselves in the political arena, and the distinction is clear here as is the distinction between the capitalist and wage worker in the purely economic field. The republican party, by virtue of its historic development, has become unreservedly the party of the dominant capitalist industrial class. We will get all the prosperity it is ever possible to enjoy under private ownership through the republican party. The democratic party is simply a side show in the great capitalist drama, where you pay your money to see the elephant, but discover later on that, after all, the animal was only stuffed with straw.

This democratic party is supported almost exclusively by the middle class, the small farmer, merchant and "store keeper." This middle class, feeling themselves being crushed by the greater economic force of the trust and department store, unable to hold their own against the encroachments of centralization, seek to save themselves from final ruin and bankruptcy by allying themselves with that party which guar-

antees to them the greatest amount of economic advantages. This is the democratic party. The democratic party itself is composed of a set of politicians who, under the pretext that it will "abolish the trust" and "destroy special privileges," prey upon the prejudice of the masses. Taking advantage of the ignorance of some, the greed of others, the best hopes of the middle class; profiting, too, by the servility of thought and action, which they themselves have so effectively cultivated, profiting also by the widespread discontent and general dissatisfaction of the wage workers, they seek to wriggle themselves into power on any and every condition emanating from out our industrial anarchy. At one time it is "free trade"; another time it is "free silver," "anti-imperialism," "anti-trust," and so on. Fortunately it is for the wage workers that, so far as this anti-everything party is concerned, we have passed the danger point, otherwise some of their antics might "anti" into something more serious than mere wind.

With them it is 1861 over again, with this distinction: that in 1861 it was the chattel slave who was made the scapegoat, while today it is the wage slave who must bear the burden. In 1861 the capitalist of the north and the slave lords of the south, in their determination to excel each other, drew the whole country into the bloodiest conflict recorded in American history. And while the capitalist was forced to fight for his liberties, he preached equality and called the chattel slave to his assistance; but when the war was over and victory proclaimed he alone entered the promised land. In a short time he became the economic oppressor. And why? Because he is now the economic master, and the state is his. He sends his own men to congress to make laws for him, and should there be any representatives of the slave lords or middle class in the way, he has but to remind them of the words of Philip of Macedonia, "No fortress is impregnable that can be reached by an ass laden with gold." Hence, as we have seen in the late presidential election, the capitalist class all over the country are allying themselves with the dominant political party, irrespective of pre-conceived political convictions.

This middle class had no compassion on the wage workers when the introduction of machinery and the division of labor rendered skill and strength more and more superfluous; when it became possible to employ unskilled and cheap labor in place of skilled; nor later on when the improvement of machinery made it possible to employ women and even children to take the place of men. No; they were perfectly satisfied with the new turn of affairs; it meant cheaper commodities to them—more profits. In vain did the trade unionist warn them and plead for their assistance. In vain they cried from the house tops to the agitators, "traitors," "disturbers of the public peace," "you should be satisfied in that position in which it has pleased God to place you." But the critical moment comes, and now when they see that the irresistible waves of economic evolution are about to swallow them whole, that not even they can escape the irresistible, how docile they become! And, like the sinking Peter of Biblical lore, finding they have not the strength to stand alone, turn and with open arms and pleading lips implore the wage workers, whom they have been exploiting for centuries, "save us," they cry, "ere we perish."

And so we will save them. But not through the reactionary political legislative measures of the democratic party.

"Like conditions produce like results." Were it possible to destroy the trusts tomorrow, leaving the competitive system untouched, exploitation and plunder of the wage workers would go on just the same, and the trusts would reappear. "But," says the democratic party, "if we abolish the trust we will all have an equal opportunity to get rich." Who are we? If somebody is going to get rich, then somebody else is going to get poor. It certainly can't be that the democrats intend to "divide up." There can be but one answer to the "we" question, and that is that they—the politicians—will have an "opportunity" to "get rich." But at whose expense? You can't divide a dollar so as to increase the shares of both. This erroneous idea that we will all have an equal opportunity to get rich simply means the triumph of the strong over the weak; the stronger would again ally themselves with that party which promised to them the greatest amount of economic advantages, leaving the weak to go to the wall. This is precisely what we have at present, and this is just what the middle class is contending against. It is the duty of a rational

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THE NEW YEAR

The old year lies dead
And the new comes creeping through,
The stillness round us spread
As vestal stars that rise
At evening in the skies,
To tell the day is dead.

What message do you bring,
Oh, new year, as you fly here
Upon your matin wing?
Are love and peace the share
Your coming will declare,
Or hate and sorrowing?

Is tender pathos rife
The only thing to earth you bring,
Or clamor, greed and strife?
Thy gift: is't joy's gain,
Or is thy gloomy strain
The bitterness of life?

Will you a witness be
With tongue to carry among
The sons of poverty,
The dawning morn sublime
Of the long-hoped-for time
Whose coming is to be?

Oh, sing the joyous song,
The world is freed of hate and greed:
No more the saddened throng
Need dread the bitter past.
For the day is come at last
To right the old year's wrong.
—Lorenzo D. Gillespie.

LABOR AND POLITICS IN OLD ENGLAND

An Interesting Batch of News from Beyond
the Seas Prepared for the Herald

By John Penny

MUNICIPAL RABBITS

"What shall we do with our rabbits?" The Torquay corporation has solved this question in a way which will doubtless make the corporate mouths of other town councils water. By the acquisition of 2,000 acres of land on Dartmoor for their water supply the Dartmoor council came into possession of a large rabbit warren. Seven thousand rabbits were killed last year and sold at a profit of sixpence each. This year it is anticipated that at least 10,000 will be disposed of, which will realize the handsome sum of £250 toward the reduction of rates. Municipal sewage, stock and other kinds of farms we have had for a good many years. Is the municipal rabbit farm to be the next development?

COMMUNAL MUSIC

Most of the great towns possess public parks and all, except the most reactionary, engage bands to play in them during the summer months. Needless to say, the open-air concerts are greatly enjoyed, and though the poor ratepayer has to bear the cost, it is generally admitted gain is worth the outlay. Very few are the examples of towns going back on these performances when they have once been properly tried. In the winter, however, open-air concerts are out of the question, and, although free organ recitals are given here and there, it has been left to West Ham to lead the way in providing free Saturday evening concerts for the people. All last winter such concerts were given in the Stratford town hall and the Canning town public hall. Battersea, the most go-ahead borough in the London area, quickly followed suit, and in both districts the free concerts are now most popular institutions. I am told that the cost of a concert at West Ham is about £14, and every endeavor is made to insure that, while the music is not too classical to be appreciated by the class who attend, it shall be of a refining and elevating character.

AGRARIAN QUESTIONS

The depopulation of our country districts and the steady trend to the towns is a phenomenon which has for a long time exercised the minds of statesmen and economists, and the papers lately have been full of correspondence upon the subject. So far as one can gather from the best authorities, it is not that the agricultural laborer prefers urban to rural life which brings him into the towns, for incontrovertible evidence has been given that where he can obtain a decent living the country possesses far greater attractions for him; but there is general agreement that such wages as are paid to him, ranging from 9s to 15s in the truly rural districts, with the certainty of being dependent upon charity in his old age, do not now satisfy the aspirations of Hodge. If better wages could be paid by the farmer there would not be much fear of the laborer forsaking the land.

We are told, however, that it is quite impossible for the farmer to pay more in the form of wages, and that he, having high rents and low prices to contend

with, is in a very bad way indeed. Probably this is true, and consequently we have a serious outlook before us. What is to be the state of health of the people in the future? It is well known that all our towns are dependent upon the influx of fresh life and blood from the rural districts to keep up the standard. Let all the people flock to the towns and degeneration, both moral and physical, must ensue.

It is plain, therefore, that the land question is one to be dealt with and that right speedily. If we inquire into the cause which has produced the present evil I venture to think that it will be found in landlordism—landlordism which has practically brought farming to the verge of ruin. Excessive rents and insecurity of tenure have made the cultivation of the soil one of the most risky and unprofitable industries, that the country has ever had.

We are told now that rents are falling, but it must be remembered that even if the land was offered free it would require a good many years to place agriculture back in its proper position at the head of our industries. Capital, which should have been put into the land, has been diverted into other channels and the farmers as a class today are almost in a state of bankruptcy. They cannot pay good wages, they cannot use machinery, they cannot improve their holdings, they can scarcely make their farms yield them a hand-to-mouth subsistence. Mr. Hanbury, the new minister of agriculture, has a fairly big task before him.

There is one thing that I have long advocated, which may be reasonable or otherwise. We have a large number of soldiers and sailors in the country, who require to be, and are, fed at the public expense. At the present time we buy a considerable proportion of the food they eat from abroad. It has always seemed to me that it would be very advisable for the government, liberal or conservative, to take over a tract of land and run a gigantic farm for the purpose of providing foodstuffs for our soldiers and sailors need. The government today runs its own dockyards, arsenals, clothing factories, etc. It would be only a small development to run a farm and produce the corn, cattle and so forth required for consumption. The government in adopting such an experiment would have the advantage of having a steady market to supply, and I can't help thinking that if sufficient capital were put into the business, up-to-date machinery and scientific methods used and properly paid labor employed, that it would be possible to produce as cheap and wholesome food for the empire's defenders as is now purchased from other lands. Such a proposal is undoubtedly Socialistic, but people are not afraid of the word Socialism nowadays. If the proposal were carried into effect, one step at any rate would be made toward the resuscitation of agriculture in England.

MUNICIPAL HOUSING

The London County Council has purchased thirty-one acres of land at Norbury in Surrey. This is the first time the new act empowering a municipal authority to buy land outside of its own area for housing purposes has been put into operation, and naturally the experiment is being watched with a great deal of interest. On the ground acquired it is proposed to erect 672 houses which will accommodate about 5,000, or 193 persons to the acre. One can congratulate the council upon the fact that at present the district is not served by tramways, for undoubtedly if trams had been running to the neighborhood the price of the land would have been considerably higher. It may be of interest to note here that the opening of the famous "twopenny tube," connecting the west end with the city, has resulted in the rents of the houses in the western suburbs being raised 10 per cent. It is the intention of the county council to run trams to Norbury, or at any rate to the boundary of the county, so that the inevitable increased value in this case will belong to the community and not the private landlord. It would have been well if all public improvements carried out in London during the last thirty years had had a similar result.

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

The following vigorous paragraph from an American paper would be amusing if there were not so much truth in it: The following is a sample of Christian civilization in these United States: Out of our population of 75,000,000 we have 60,000 clergymen to help civilize us, 90,000 lawyers to help distort justice, 85,000 professional criminals and fully ten times as many non-union criminals, mostly in high society and in congress, 75,000 paupers and only 6,000 authors and scientists. We have 1,000,000 tramps and 5,400 professors; 127,000 bartenders and 9,700 actors; 5,000,000 common laborers and 9,300 designers and inventors. It can be truthfully said that we have discovered how to make money, but not how to make men.

THE OLD YEAR AND THE NEW

The Herald Interviews Bluff Old 1900
as He is About to Take His
Departure for Company
of Years Agone

WHY LUNA FAVORED BRYAN

The First Autocrat of the Twentieth Century
Promises His Best Efforts to Promote
the Success of Socialism

The Herald, up to date in its field of journalism, interviewed the old year, A. D. 1900, for the satisfaction, and instruction of its thousands of readers.

Nothing is more common than to impersonate the years as they go by, always representing them in the masculine gender. Upon this point the old year was exacting.

The Herald representative, in presenting his card and asking for an interview, was met by the bluff inquiry, "How do you propose to paint me?" Continuing, the old year said:

"I want no cartoons representing me as a servile, dreaming old dotard, reclining on a sofa in a night robe, coughing, sneezing and trembling, with my toes turned up and lamenting my infirmities, doctors feeling my pulse and a trained nurse with vial and spoon feeding me with soothing syrups. If you contemplate that sort of treatment you can begone."

"Nothing of that character, please your excellency, is contemplated. The Herald knows what's what."

The old hero continued as he strode up and down his apartment, booted and spurred, scepter in hand and armed cap-a-pie, stopping occasionally to eat a snowball. "Do you notice anything feeble or languid in my manner; stride or pose? Do I look like a cadaver or a candidate for a boneyard?"

"No sir," said the old colossus, "I belong to a family every one of which has died fighting with his boots on for the right. We are not swans singing our death songs. We scout muffled drums and dirges. We fight to the last ditch—fight in it. There is nothing namby-pamby in our family."

The Herald man said he had "so read history," and that "Socialists were in that line of business"; that they had studiously sought the right, had no thought of surrendering and regarded the years as their friends, and proposed never to give up the ship.

The old storm-tossed and battle-scarred chief smiled as blandly as a May morning, extended his hand and said: "Shake, my boy! The Herald is doing a good work and my successor will do more for your great party than I have done. He will multiply its branches; its watchfires will blaze on all the highlands and in all the valleys, and subscribers to The Herald during the reign of 1901 will pour in by the thousand."

"What do I think about civilization? As well ask me what I think about a crazy quilt made in an insane asylum. It is without order or design—a mass of patchwork. It used to hide a vast multitude of errors and crimes and abominations. It is a civilization of war, blood and slaughter, of extortion and rapine. The difficulty, young man, is owing to a mistake in the beginning. If in multiplication you say twice 2 is 6, or twice 8 is 12, or twice 9 is 15, you make figures lie, and the more you do in that line the greater is the error, and you must wipe out the work and begin anew. The only party that sees and comprehends the magnitude of the error is the Social Democratic party, and I endorse its battle cry for a 'new civilization.'"

"You ask my opinion about government. Well, take the two governments claiming to be the best the world has ever seen since the deluge—those of Great Britain and the United States of America—one murdering an inoffensive people in South Africa and the other engaged in the same bloody business in the Philippine islands. If these are the best, what anathemas are suitable for the denunciation of the worst? But they are not the best. The comparison, good, better, best, is not in order. There is no good, and, consequently, no best. Out of the civilization which now curses mankind good government cannot come."

"Will the era of good government ever dawn upon the earth? If Socialism prevails, yes; if it fails, no."

"What now, young man? The late campaign in the United States? I had a birdseye view of it from my train, but Miss Luna, my private secretary, kept

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JAN. 5, 1901.

Social Democratic Party Vote 1900 (PRESIDENTIAL) 96,878

At a bankers' banquet some months ago a distinguished member of the bar responded to the toast, "Money Talks." Among other things, he said: "Money is the root of civilization; money makes the wheels go round; without it progress balks and stops. Why, you can't even wage war without money, and war is still a necessary evil, because you have to shoot civilization into some people." As a matter of course, the bankers were much pleased with the lawyer's eulogy of money. If you substitute labor for money, you have the bedrock fact upon which civilization rests. Labor makes the "wheels go round." Labor moves the car of progress, and savages "wage war" without money. True enough, in a sense, "money talks"; but the world is learning that other things besides money talk. Labor has found its tongue and is talking. Aggregated money talks with a stentorian voice; but aggregated labor enters the arena with thunder tones which money cannot drown. Besides under the sway of Socialism truth and justice, in alliance with labor, are talking and convincing the world that the money power will in time succumb to their overmastering logic.

Secretary of the Treasury Gage reports the total receipts of the government from all sources for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1900, at \$669,595,431.18. Of this amount the tariff tax on imported goods amounted to \$233,164,871.16, and from internal revenue tax, \$295,327,926.76—total, \$528,492,797.92. No man of intelligence denies that labor, and labor only, pays taxes, and for the last fiscal year labor paid to support the army and the navy \$188,727,845.50, for which there is nothing under heaven to show, except an assortment of ships and guns and some 20,000 or more of dead Filipinos who fought, bled and died for liberty and their native land. Nor can labor hope for anything better in the near future, the estimate for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, for the army and navy being \$200,000,000.

The D. D.'s and other titled religionists of New York, except those of the Roman Catholic church, met Dec. 31 to dismiss 1900 and welcome 1901 with prayers. As for 1900, his record is past revocation, and as for 1901, if the signs of the times have any significance, the "hell of war," in spite of prayer, will continue in South Africa and in the Philippine islands under the auspices of the most renowned Christian (?) nation on the earth. It is recorded that the Pharisees were renowned for making long prayers, but it is not recorded that their prayers accomplished any good whatever. Praying perfunctorily to hold one's job, with an eye to pay day and a full dinner pail, is not likely to influence for the better the record of 1901.

After a week's editorship of the Sun, Dr. Parker of London said he almost feared it was impossible for a daily paper to live without gambling. Christians were dead or it would not be so. A theoretical Christian laid aside his Bible and hymn book to follow the betting news. A Christian of this type barred the greatest reformation the world would ever see—namely, in the region of journalism. Letters he received from nominal Christians disgusted him. "Christians are becoming invalids," he continued, "and the church is a hospital. Nurses are wanted. Manliness is dead." Parker has it down "dead to rights." Conditions are the same here, old man.

The latest institution to be established in Chicago for the benefit of the under-dog-in-the-fight is a "penny lunch counter." The average cost for a meal, says the manager, is about 3 cents—and that hits the bulging pocketbooks of the under-dogs in these piping times of prosperity about right. A railroad man's board bill for the month at the penny lunch counter amounted to \$6.40, 7 cents a day and a cut of pie thrown in. But if he works for the Northwestern road he can have a pension when he is 70 years old! Think of that!

It is given out that McKinley's second inauguration will be the grandest affair ever witnessed on the continent. Emperor Mac will ride to the capitol in a gorgeous catafalque symbolizing the death of the republic drawn by sixteen white zebras from South Africa with orangutan outriders. Teddy the Terrible will follow in a bandwagon resembling a battleship drawn by twenty-four ostriches with tails magnificently plumed, while Mark Hanna, riding a superb, one-horned rhinoceros, waving a banner bearing the motto, "Capitalism and the empire for us," will constitute the tail-end of the procession.

McKinley, in his message, says: "The Filipinos are a race quick to learn and profit by knowledge. He would be rash who, with the teachings of contemporary history in view, would fix a limit to the degree of culture and advancement yet within the reach of those people if our duty toward them be faithfully performed." And yet he is slaughtering those interesting people by the thousands, at an enormous cost to American taxpayers, because they demand liberty and independence. Such is Christian civilization.

The question is asked, Are the democratic and republican parties as much alike as twin tigers? The answer is, that Bryan congratulated McKinley upon his election. Whichever got in conditions would be the same. If McKinley was successful, Mark Hanna would be boss; if Bryan, then Croker. The difference between Bryan and Croker is the difference between six and a half-dozen.

We enter the twentieth century in the United States with the most powerful combinations of capitalists in the world in control of the destinies of the people and the working class, for the most part, cringing and fawning at the feet of their masters, ready to submit to any and all conditions for the privilege of getting a living. The future has no promise for the man who works, other than Socialism holds out to him.

With the corporations getting rid of old men, long in the service, on every pretext the managers can think of, the proposal of the Chicago & Northwestern railway to pension employees who have attained the age of 70, by allowing them 1 per cent of their monthly salary (to comfort them in their declining years) is ridiculous. What a fine prospect is open to the dollar-a-day, seventy-year-old section hand!

A free American not long ago gave his false teeth to pay a debt. That is a move in the right direction; in the direction of reducing man's capacity to chew. This monotonous program of masticating food three times a day is a very expensive one for the masters. Put the slaves on an air diet. The experiment might at least be tried in the interest of economy.

Miss Margaret Haley, a school teacher of Chicago, who started in to force the corporations of this town to pay their equitable share of the taxes, has in a few months developed into a revolutionist. She now thinks the country is not far from "a bloody revolution." She blames the class which sits indifferently in the parlor and says such men will be responsible for the calamity.

France has a national debt of \$4,400,000,000, upon which she pays interest, while the debt is increasing. The statement is made that the "limit of safe taxation has been reached," a fact which in France is premonitory of danger if taxation is increased—in which case French "rents" would cease to pay dividends and might disappear, as did the Bastille.

It is understood, or, at least, should be understood, that Socialists do not antagonize capital, per se, nor yet capitalists who accumulate wealth by honest methods. But Socialists do antagonize capitalism because it is a synonym of spoliation, and its victims are those who make the accumulation of wealth possible.

There are signs, so the scientists say, that man will discard his little toe. How that is going to help the capitalists we cannot see. What man needs to do is to discard his stomach. That will make him less expensive to the exploiting class. A toe more or less cuts no figure, so long as the stomach remains to be fed.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men Which, taken at its flood, leads on to fortune."

Right you are, old bard, and Socialists have caught on to that tide, and when A. D. 2,000 comes they will dominate the nations of the earth.

The ideals of Socialism are high and animating, but Socialists do not propose to reach them by tugging at their boot straps, but rather by tireless effort to enthrone truth and justice in the world.

Socialism is eminently practical. It makes no war upon what is called "labor-saving machinery." It simply proposes that workmen shall in due time own the machinery.

The cotton crop of 1900 is valued at \$500,000,000; cotton seed and oil at \$100,000,000. Without labor not a dollar of this prosperity could have been secured.

It may be better to go wrong than to stand still and growl, since he who goes may eventually find the forks of the road and choose the right way.

Comrades will have time to organize new branches of the Social Democratic party and secure subscribers for The Social Democratic Herald.

The Hay-Pianoforte treaty the senate concluded to amend because it contained too much British and not enough Monroe doctrine.

Socialists, like all other mortals, may have their imperfections, but carrying around their hearts in their boots is not one of them.

Life is worth the living-only when it is devoted to self-improvement, and in helping others to improve their condition.

Socialism is to have continuous opportunities to grow and spread and conquer.

A new year and a new century born in the same hour.

The womb of Time is fruitful.

Happy New Year.

The Kautsky Resolution

Following is the resolution introduced by Kautsky of Germany and adopted at the International Socialist congress at Paris:

"In a modern democratic state the conquest of the public power of the proletariat cannot be the result of a coup de main; it must be the result of a long and painful work of proletarian organization on the economic and political fields of the physical and moral regeneration of the laboring class and of the gradual conquest of municipalities and legislative assemblies.

"But in countries where the governmental power is centralized, it cannot be conquered fragmentarily.

"The accession of an isolated Socialist to a capitalist government cannot be considered as the normal beginning of the conquest of political power, but only as an expedient, imposed, transitory and exceptional.

"Whether, in a particular case, the political situation necessitates this dangerous experiment, is a question of tactics and not of principle; the International congress has not to declare itself upon this point; but in any case the participation of a Socialist in a capitalist government does not hold out the hope of good results for the militant proletariat, unless a great majority of the Socialist party approves of such an act and the Socialist minister remains the agent of his party. In the contrary case of this minister becoming independent of his party, or representing only a fraction of it, his intervention in a capitalist government threatens the militant proletariat with disorganization and confusion, with a weakening instead of a fortifying of it; it threatens to hamper the proletarian conquest of the public powers instead of conquering it.

"At any rate, the congress is of opinion that, even in such extreme cases, a Socialist must leave the ministry when the organized party recognizes that the government gives evidences of partiality in the struggle between capital and labor."

The Government We Have

In the famous and now condemned Dred-Scott decision, Justice Curtis in his protest against the theory of the majority of the Supreme court, said:

"Political reasons have not the requisite certainty to afford rules of judicial interpretation. They are different in the same men at different times. And when a strict interpretation of the constitution, according to the fixed rules, which govern the interpretation of laws is abandoned and the theoretical opinions of individuals are allowed to control its meaning, we have no longer a constitution; we are under the government of individual men, who for the time being have power to declare what the constitution, according to their own views of it, ought to mean. When such a method of interpretation obtains, in place of a republican government, with limited and defined powers, we have a government which is more really an exponent of the will of congress; of what, in my opinion, would not be preferable, an exponent of the individual political opinions of the members of this court."

Abridging Political Liberties

It may be foreseen that, in every country, the ruling class, before yielding, will abridge or destroy even those public liberties which were without danger for them when they were in the hands of laborers not organized into a class-conscious party, but forming the rearguard of other purely political parties, as radical on secondary questions as they are profoundly conservative on the fundamental question of the economic organization of property.—Enrico Ferri in Socialism and Modern Science.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY NOT ENOUGH, SAYS ADLER

It Must be Supplemented by "the Right Kind of Democracy Between Man and Man"—In Other Words, Social Democracy the One Necessity

Democracy Without Freedom Having Failed in the Cities, Is a Failure all 'round—The Failure of Reform Movements Recognized

Prof. Felix Adler of New York, lecturing at Central Music hall, Chicago, on "The Redemption of Our Great Cities," told his audience some pretty plain truths of present day tendencies under capitalism. Everywhere this is a theme for discussion these days, and the truth is being gradually forced home with staggering effect that the only safeguard for freedom and civilization is to be found in Social Democracy. Prof. Adler said in part:

"The situation is dramatic; it is not too strong to say that it is tragic. It is with humility that I confess that the longer I study the problem the more baffling it becomes. Who can know a great city? We have no conception of a city of which we speak so freely. You know but little of the web and mesh of life of your great city. As Victor Hugo terms it, 'the monster.'"

"The march to the great city is not the march of liberty. It is the beginning of a new servitude, particularly in the United States. Nowhere is a great city more easily studied. Your own city is the most interesting of all. The population of our great cities comprises over 18,000,000, or 29 per cent, and if the growth continues at the same rate in 1910 the cities will have one-half of the population.

"If democracy is a failure in cities, it is a failure all round. If we do not succeed in governing our cities in accordance with our ideas of democracy our whole government will be a failure. Unless we can succeed in redeeming our cities the outlook for liberty at the close of the nineteenth century is, indeed, dark.

"The redemption of our great cities means the rescue of our citizens from the hideous misrule now existing within their borders. The moral element should be on top and should rule the criminal, just as the carnal things in man must down and the moral element rule. I am not prepared to speak for you in Chicago, but in New York we are ruled by the criminal class. Only the right spirit among our citizens will help us. No new machine, no new election law, only the right spirit can save us.

"There is danger in illiteracy, but literacy is not alone a safeguard. One of the reasons why unfit men are retained in office is the wrong kind of friendship toward them—false kindness which means the injury of the many. Another cause is the lack of democracy in the social relations.

"Political democracy cannot be made a success without the right kind of democracy between man and man. The members of the better class—a misnomer—know as little about the great mass as if they lived in another hemisphere. As a consequence our reform movement will not go with the masses as long as we are under the delusion that the right of leadership is one of the privileges of the better class. The masses look upon such a movement as a silk-stocking movement."

OUR ECONOMIC STRUGGLE AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

(Continued from First Page)

government to provide, not for the survival of the strong over the weak, but to make it possible for all to survive. And this can only be accomplished by the establishment of the industrial civilization, through the ownership of the means of production, distribution and sources of wealth by the people to whom they belong.

The wage worker, who, divorced from the tools of production and an economic dependent on those who control the necessities of life, will find the political reflection of his economic freedom in the political demands of the Social Democratic party. If the future citizens are all to have an equal opportunity to get rich, then they must have equal access to the necessities of life. In order to carry out this proposal the S. D. P. considers it necessary that the people, collectively, shall own the means for carrying it out—land, mines, mills, factories, railways, steamboats, telegraphs, telephones and so on.

Nor would this necessitate the reorganization of society at large. Socialism simply proposes to use government for this purpose. "Government does not need to be made over. It needs only to be used for proper purposes, to be used by all instead of by a class."

"Destroy special privileges," says the Bryanite. Socialists will agree to this. But special privilege can only be destroyed by making the highest privilege of the few the common privilege of all. I repeat, this can only be done by the establishment of co-operative industrial

civilization, through the ownership by the people of all means for the production and distribution of wealth.

The S. D. P. contends that it is the duty of society to give work to all. There is no excuse for a class of unemployed shut out from an opportunity to earn a living. "Each worker shall have an opportunity to work, and each worker shall receive an income equal to a fair share of what is produced, and that share he shall be left to spend where he pleases, precisely as he may spend his income now. The income and all he buys with it shall be his absolute private property. Socialism ends with providing him with the opportunity of earning the income and the things to buy with it. It pays him for his work, redeems the pay it gives him, and then parts company with him."

And now in conclusion let me say to the wage slave: Comrades, your industrial emancipation must come through political action. Implements of production and the sources of wealth must be seized by the united people and held for use. Governments, national, state, and municipal, must be used for this purpose. To the middle man who would "anti" everything: Quit your antics. It has long since been proven that it is impossible for a man to raise himself by pulling on his boot straps. And besides, across the industrial and commercial highway it is written: "THY NAME IS MUD." To the doctors, preachers and professional teachers: Be practical men. The days of revelation, mystery and miracle have gone by; we live in an economic age, buttressed by economic forces. Things move on economic lines and man moves with them toward the full and complete orbicular circle marked out for the evolution of the race. The next turn in the wheel of events will bring about the Social Democratic commonwealth. Competition and the sources of contention being eliminated, then shall come "peace on earth, and good will to all men."

J. W. Brown,
31 Trust building, Hartford, Conn.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Germany.—The Socialists have gained five seats in the municipal council at Leipzig; they obtained 7,529 votes.—The editor of the Socialist paper at Bremen has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for criticizing the senate—i. e., the ruling body of that town, which is one of the old Hanse towns.—Bebel has made a splendid speech in the reichstag in attacking the government for the expedition to China. He showed how the Boxer movement was really a patriotic movement, and that the European powers were the real aggressors. It may be noted that Sir Robert Hart, who has lived in China for over forty years, is exactly of the same opinion.—Several municipal Socialist councillors were successful in the second ballots at Stettin.—A Socialist has been elected a member of the landtag of Sax-Gotha. There are now nine Socialists in that assembly.—The Socialists have also won several seats in the Wurtemberg landtag.—Vorwarts tells again the story of the emperor's telegram to President Kruger after the Jameson raid, and shows how the cause of the Transvaal has been sacrificed to the desire of the German emperor for expansion in the east. The writer says that capitalism is not governed by ethical principles, that international imperialism in every land is merely brutal, and that its principles—if they can be so called—are simply those of robbers who wish to grab all they can.

Italy.—The Socialists have decided to introduce several bills in the Italian parliament. One relates to the labor of women and children, one on the municipalization of public works, and one proposes to abolish the iniquitous system of the "domestic coatto," by which the government can now take citizens without trial and compel them to live in other places.—The Italian chamber has passed a resolution in favor of doing away with court-martials in time of peace.—The Avanti has been comparing the amount of money spent on elementary education by Italy and by Switzerland. Though Switzerland has only a population of 3,000,000, she spends 43,000,000 fr. a year; while Italy, with a population of over 30,000,000, only spends 30,000,000 fr. for the same purpose.—The Socialists have been drawing attention to the evil effects of a large army in Italy, and have proposed a reduction of 100,000,000 fr. in the army estimates, but this proposal has been rejected.

The sublimest courage in the world is moral courage. Its motto is: "Dare to do all things for the right."

Answers to Correspondents

T. A. Ohio.—There was not a single man to good standing in the Social Democratic party in the convention held in this city Dec. 15; only three delegates have at any time been members of this organization; one had not paid dues for a year; a second had to pursue of a will-o'-the-wisp severed his relations before the convention, and the third by going counter to the expressed will of the organization and accepting a nomination from another party has virtually severed his connection with the S. D. P. That was the sort (and extent) of representation the S. D. P. had in the "union" convention.

AN IDEA FROM THE MAN AT THE BENCH

Story illustrating How Hardship is Imposed
Upon and Injustice Done the Real
Workman in Our Modern
Factory System

Jack Burns, One of the "Filing Gang" Makes a Valuable Suggestion and is "Fired" by Superintendent Who Steals the Idea.

"I've found a way to prevent favoritism in my factory," said the president of the International Air Engine company. His friends who were dining with him at the club, both of them being manufacturers, looked interested.

"In the old days," he went on, "when every little shop manufactured its own goods, the proprietor had at most a couple of apprentices. He knew them well, of course, and watched them every day at their work. If one of them got a good idea he was at once given credit for it. But under present conditions such a thing is not possible. There are 1,600 men in my factory. I don't know half of them by sight. It is impossible that I should. If one of these men gets a good idea or makes a valuable suggestion, how am I to know that he gets the proper credit or recognition? Trust to my foreman and managers, you say? But you can't always trust to foremen and managers, any more than you can always trust men occupying other positions. But I've found a way to make sure that the right man gets the credit for all he does."

"This is the way it came about: Into every International air engine go twenty-seven pieces which are exactly alike. They are stamped out of sheet metal by a punch press at the rate of fifty a minute. Ever since we started making engines these pieces have been turned over to the men on the filing job, who filed three little notches in each piece with a hand file. When we started making our engines these little notches were the close-working parts of the machine, and were, therefore, filed by hand with great care."

"One day a man on the file job got an idea. He knew that the pieces he was filing were no longer the close-working parts of the machine. He wondered why the punch press fixture was not changed so that the little notches should be cut out at the same time with the rest of the piece. He didn't stop to think that perhaps if he made such a suggestion the nine men on the filing bench might be thrown out of work, at least in that department. At any rate, he spoke to the foreman about it."

"What's the use," he said "of doing all this work by hand when it might as well all be done at the same time by the punch press?"

"The foreman knew perfectly well that he ought to have thought of that same thing months before, and he was not pleased with the suggestion. He gave the workman little encouragement."

"If you'd work harder and spend less time thinking about why we do things the way we do you'd get along better," he said.

"At the same time he cherished the suggestion and he went to work and figured out that if it was adopted the company would save at least \$5,000 a year. He even went so far as to have a few pieces stamped with the notches in them and tried them in an engine. Nobody knew the difference and the machine worked as well as the rest."

"It happened that we had a new superintendent at the time. Naturally, he was anxious to make a good showing. The smart foreman went to him with the suggestion he had stolen from the workman on the filing job. He had his figures and models all ready."

"Here's a little idea of mine," the foreman said, as he laid his plan before the superintendent, "which I hope you'll appreciate. If you adopt it, and I don't see how you can fail to adopt it, it will save the company not less than \$5,000 a year. I'll trust to you to see that it doesn't knock me out of a job. We use 405 of these pieces every day. At present the three little notches on each piece are filed by hand. Nine men do nothing else. We can just as well have the notches cut by the punch press at the same time that it cuts out the piece. Do it that way and you can lay off nine filers for good. It'll save the company \$5,000 a year, any way."

"It happened that the salary of the new superintendent was just \$5,000 a year. It struck him that it would be an extremely happy hit to save the amount of his yearly salary in a single stroke within less than two months of the time he went to work. At the same time he didn't like the foreman of the file job. That gentleman impressed him as being tricky, which shows that the superintendent was a good judge of human nature. Besides being a young and a new man, he didn't like anything which might seem to indicate that anybody could tell him anything about the business. So he gave the foreman little apparent attention. He took care, however, to gather up all the foreman's models and figures and dismissed him

with the statement that he would look the matter over when he got time.

"He took time that evening to go over the thing carefully. Next day he went out into the shop and called down the foreman of the filing job for allowing his room to get so dirty. He also carefully looked over the punch presses, and as he was a good mechanic he had no trouble in seeing that the suggestion was perfectly feasible. He had temporary fixture made for the punch press and turned out a number of the pieces all complete, which were successfully tried in engines which were sold and sent out in the regular way. A month later, when it was certain that the plan was perfectly feasible, he came to me. By that time, I suppose, the workman who originally made the suggestion had entirely forgotten it. Perhaps it had even slipped the memory of the foreman who tried to steal it in the first place."

"Of course, I was pleased with the idea. I ordered the superintendent to adopt it at once, and congratulated myself on the possession of a prize at the head of my factory. I went around and bragged about it to my friends. I told them that our new superintendent had saved his salary for a year in less than ninety days after he had gone to work. Naturally, I was tickled to death. I didn't know it at the time, but it appears that the first thing the new superintendent did was to fire the foreman of the filing job. That was before there was any idea prevalent that the men on the job were to go, too. But in the discharge of that foreman the superintendent unknowingly laid the foundation of his own undoing and my enlightenment."

"A couple of weeks later, after the new fixtures for the punch presses were completed, the nine filers, including the man who originally made the suggestion, were laid off. Then the trouble commenced."

"One night after dinner the former foreman of the filing job came to my house. He complained that the superintendent had stolen the suggestion and fired him in order to cover the theft. I didn't like the man's looks, so I took a long chance with him."

"But you know," I said, "that suggestion was not original with you, either."

"Well," he answered, before he thought, "he's fired Jack Burns, too."

"So Burns, then," I answered, "is the man who really deserves credit. Where does he live?"

"I got Burns back again and got rid of both the foreman and the superintendent. Then I set to work to devise a plan by which I might be sure that every man in the factory who had a good idea might get proper credit for it. At last I struck it. In every department I put in plain sight a small box with a slit in the top of it. Above each box is a placard reading:

"Complaints and Suggestions. If you have any complaint or suggestion to make, write it out on a piece of paper, sign it, and drop it in the slot. The key to this box is carried only by the president, who will personally read its contents." So far the plan has worked well."—Chicago Tribune.

THE OLD YEAR AND THE NEW

(Concluded from First Page)

tab on the proceedings. She was favorable to Bryan because of her large pile of silver bullion, which she would like to have coined into dollars of the daddies and stamped with the fool motto: "In God we trust." Miss Luna saw all the campaign trains that swept over your country and heard all the tail-end speeches made by Bryan, Roosevelt, Hanna and the small fry. She admired Bryan for his extraordinary mouth, Roosevelt for his hat, boots and superb straddle, and Hanna for hanging on to the trusts. She says these trains and tail-end speeches created no little interest and amusement in sideral regions, and that the dairy maids of the milky way never laughed so much since the day they were born.

"What do I think of the result of the campaign? Well, if Bryan had been elected your country would have seen a new herd of swine with all fours in the swill troughs of your government. With McKinley retained, the old breeds of Berkshires, Chester Whites, Poland-Chinas, etc., get the swill. I know no other result worthy of mention."

Just here the old monarch, the last of the nineteenth century, grip in hand, touched the button and dropped out. Then the bells rang merrily, bonfires blazed and cannon boomed a welcome to 1901, the first autocrat of the twentieth century.

He ascended his throne like one born to rule, waved his scepter, as if to say, "business before pleasure," and courteously received The Herald's representative, examined his card and remarked:

"Yes, I have heard of The Herald and its mission, of Eugene V. Debs, the gallant fighter for a new civilization and better conditions. Give him and all the invincible army of Socialists my compliments and say during my reign Socialism will have my best efforts to promote its success."

The representative of The Herald congratulated the new autocrat, and, wishing him and Miss Luna a safe journey around Old Sol, without collision or other misadventure, bowed himself out of the august presence of the young monarch.

CONCERNING VALUE FROM MARX'S STANDPOINT

Some Misconceptions About Different Forms
of All Value Cleared Up With Special
Reference to Theory That Labor
is the Substance of Value

Surplus Value That Portion of Value Which the Worker
Gives to the Capitalist Over the Value
Expressed by His Wages

At first sight it would appear as if Marx had introduced the most abstruse portion of his theory first, but a closer examination shows that he really deals in the most elementary manner with his subject. For instance, the question of value is the very basis upon which all economics rest; Marx, therefore, starts on it right away, just as a builder starts first upon the foundations of a house.

In accordance with his scientific method, Marx asks himself the question: What is the material basis of the capitalist system? "If we look around today," he writes, "we see that wealth is admitted to be an accumulation of commodities." In political economy, therefore, the unit of wealth must be the commodity, and he accordingly analyzes this unit of wealth.

He finds that a commodity is a specific form of wealth, and that to understand it we must go to the more primitive form of barter. When tribes barter they do so because they have superfluous articles which they can well spare and exchange with another tribe. In course of time the advantages accruing from barter cause things to be made solely for the purpose of exchange, and as this system of exchange develops we come to a period when the recognized system of production is entirely dominated by the principle of exchange. The question now forces itself upon exchangers, what is the value of their commodities? Unfortunately, very few people know anything about value, though it is one of the most familiar words in the English language. Marx, recognizing the fundamental position which value takes in exchange, at once sets to work to critically analyze it.

Dr. Aveling, in his "Student's Marx," which is a summary of "Capital," is responsible for writing as if Marx dealt with three values only. As a matter of fact, Marx does not specifically mention any number of values, but, for the purposes of discussion, values may very well be made to fall in a category of three. The three values mentioned by Aveling are value, use-value, exchange-value. "Value" is the general or abstract form of all values; use-value denotes all things that are useful, such as land-values, boot-values, gold-values, and so on by the million. The word "use-value" is in itself a general form, so far as utilities are concerned, but in this case under review it is used as a particular form of value. Then comes "exchange value," which, as the word denotes, arises out of exchange.

Use-value and exchange-value are values of a different kind, and the question which now concerns us is what is the value common to them both.

When we analyze value we find it to be a relative term which expresses a comparison we make between things on the basis of a common substance existing between them. This comes out more strongly when we paraphrase the word. To ask the value of a thing is equal to saying: "What is the amount of a given substance in one thing as compared with another?" This shows clearly that value at bottom is a comparison of two quantities by some common measure.

Marx says when we compare things we must express them in terms of the same unit; that is, we must use a common substance which both contain to measure one by the other. And to convince his readers of this he gives an illustration of measuring things by weight. For a person to weigh two things they must both possess the property of weight. One cannot get an expression of the weight of any object by comparing it with the color of another, or by the sound of another. The comparisons would be incongruous. The same principles apply to exchange-value. An exchange implies an equation between two articles in a common substance. The question now arises, what is the substance common to the two commodities which enables the equation to be effected?

Aristotle asked himself the same question, but he could not discover the substance, though his great intellectual powers told him it must be there. It is just at this point where Marx steps in and shows the substance to be labor, or human energy of an unqualified character. This is the pivot upon which the whole of Marx's theories turn.

The section in which he formulates this contribution to the analysis of exchange-value is considered by some rather difficult, but it is truly very elementary, for it is the A B C upon which all economy is built.

Marx, though the first to properly formulate the theory that labor was the substance of value, was not the first to proclaim that value was created by la-

bor. It had been repeatedly implied by various economists from time to time, more especially by Adam Smith and Benjamin Franklin. They never, however, put it forward more than tentatively, to be obscured and forsaken when inconvenient. The meaning of the term labor was never clearly defined by them. At one time they used it to denote general human energy, at another time some particular form of energy, like shoemaking, and they also made it stand for labor-power.

Marx takes great pains in analyzing labor as the substance of value, and lays stress on the fact that it must be regarded from the two standpoints of quantity and quality. When we speak of centering we are regarding a man's labor from the qualitative standpoint; when we speak of a man's labor or energy we are regarding it from the quantitative standpoint. To argue that the quality of labor creates value is to argue in favor of utility and social inequality; to accept human energy as the creator of value is to establish social equality and a true measure of value. Though apparently at first closely allied to each other, the two views lead to conclusions as wide apart from each other as the poles are asunder.

It may be asked, If the normal labor of one man creates as much value as the normal labor of another, how is it that one man receives 15s and another £15 for a week's work? The solution to such anomalies is to be found in the arbitrary distribution of wealth as embodied in the customs and conventions of society; which capitalism has recognized and translated into the price form of cost of production. If slavery and feudalism have, by force and fraud, divided society into dominant and servile classes, the former appropriating the products of the latter, it in no way alters the fact that when the descendant of the dominant class, by force of economic circumstances, sells his services at £15 per week, that such a price is made up by appropriating the labor of others.

Because a man receives a high salary it does not prove that he creates a value equal to that amount; it only shows that he can, by his social position, command the power to consume the product of other people's labor to that amount,

as measured by money or the price form of value.

Production of wealth and its distribution are two quite different things, and so is taking a salary and earning it. Having once grasped the question of value, it then becomes easy to understand surplus-value, for the latter is only that portion of value which the worker gives to the capitalist over the value expressed by his wages. For example, a man produces a given quantity of value, and receives as an equivalent a fourth of it in return; it is evident that the three-fourths forms a surplus for the employer who secures it. For this reason Marx calls it surplus-value. Though a man cannot create a surplus over the value he produces, his employer, the capitalist, can receive a surplus-value in return for the small quantity of value he gives the operative in the form of wages.

A clear perception of value prepares the way for the understanding of surplus-value and how the capitalist thrives on exploitation of the worker, besides exposing the absurdity of the economists who attempt to justify the present capitalist system on the basis of value.—A. P. Hazell in London Justice.

THE OLD DINNER PAIL

Though the moon cease to wax,
The government to tax,
And the winds hush their sorrowful wail,
Keep a stiff upper lip,
And with a deathlike grip
Hold on to your old dinner pail.
'Tis the standard of measure
Of all your toil-treasure;
Hold it above barter or sale.
Though you've neither wages nor work,
Bread, poultry nor pork,
Hang on to your old dinner pail.

With your dinner pail gone,
Without tools, work or home,
You may in some friendly fence corner
bewail
The fool ballot you cast
At the election just past,
And sigh for your old dinner pail.

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A 32 page pamphlet which contains in addition to the "Primer of Socialism," by G. C. Clemens, "Socializing the State," by the late Laurence Gronlund, and "Economic Terms and Phrases," by A. P. Hazell. One of the strongest pamphlets for propaganda yet issued. A splendid vote-maker, and thousands should be circulated before election. PER COPY, 5 CENTS—PER 100, \$1.50. Address, Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Indiana.

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Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing at 8 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 125 W. Spring St. J. Frank, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.
Membership, Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month.
Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.
Branch No. 3, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodman's Hall, 125 W. Spring St. J. Frank, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.
Branch No. 12, San Francisco (German). Holds business meeting first Sunday each month, at 1 o'clock p. m., at 117 Turk street. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 506 Warren av.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall, C. Volmar, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.
COLORADO
Branch No. 3, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.
CONNECTICUT
The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schlaf, Sec., 26 Spring St., Hartford.
Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall, C. Volmar, Sec.
Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.
ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 13 Dearborn St.
Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 264 Westworth Ave.
Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m., at Nagel's Hall, 535 Bissell Ave.
Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m., in Dunder's place, 1850 W. 15th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.
Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main St., and 19th St. James Lehn, Sec., 113 Thorpe St.
Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets at Adelphi Jankowski's place, 361 West 21st street, every other Saturday in the month. A. Geisler, Sec., 726 W. 20th street.
Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sunday, at 8 a. m., at 602 Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4846 Wood Street.
Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 626 Center avenue.
Branch 45 (Slovak) meets every third Sunday in the month at Pinger's Hall, cor. Michigan and 111th Place. Camil Kabat, Secretary, 137 Stanwood Ave.
INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Hall corner Market and Noble st. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 506 Warren av.
IOWA
Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman. Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.
KENTUCKY
Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will make it interesting for all. Henry Listersman, Sec., 176 Foote ave.
MASSACHUSETTS
Branch No. 1, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.
Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m., for instance at Revell's Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Buchanan, Secretary, 31 Prospect st.
Branch No. 20, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 31 and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

MICHIGAN
Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 2 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.
MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Ganswiler on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.
MONTANA
Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.
Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.
NEW JERSEY
Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.
Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1204 Kaigh's Avenue.
Branch No. 3, (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.
Branch No. 4, (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Helvelia Hall, 44-46 Van Houten St. Karl Linden, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.
NEW YORK
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 416 Grand street, West 42nd St.
East Side Branch: No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday, at 113 Clinton St. A. Ouyser, Secretary, 18 Suffolk St.
Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 54 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 180 Boerum St.
Branch No. 8, Buffalo, N. Y.—Persons desiring to join this branch will call or communicate with Tom Fitton, 119 Congress street.
Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 300 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 36 Henry st.
OHIO
Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Cincinnati Avenue.
OREGON
Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flavel Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.
PENNSYLVANIA
Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.
Branch No. 4, Connersport, Meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall. Chas. Knipfel, Chairman, L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Conington, Treasurer.
Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning, at 8 a. m., at 1000 Locust St. Secretary, J. D. P. (Clio) Rooms, at 423 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.
Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 26 East 3d St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jas. Lyons, secretary, 143 Second St. Public invited.
WISCONSIN
Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.
Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kaller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday, evening.
Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Gaskie's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Ave. Frank Liebsch, secretary.
Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, Meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Händel's place, 101 Michigan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 170 N. 11th street.
Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Miller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Sts. George Moschall, Secretary, 91 25th St.
Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at F. Wolf's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.
Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every second and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 1 and Center st. 8 p. m. Secretary, Randolph Loeschman, 1126 23rd St.
Branch No. 20 Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month at 334 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.
WEST VIRGINIA
Branch No. 1, Wheeling, meets every third Sunday in the month at Trade and Labor Assembly Hall, 1535 Market St. H. A. Leeds, Organizer.

NATIONAL PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man. As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Mar. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before Jan. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

SPECIAL CONVENTION

OFFICIAL CALL

To Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party, Comrades:

RESPONDING to suggestions from all parts of the country and a demand from many branches, a special National Convention of the Social Democratic party is hereby called, to take place at the national headquarters, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill., beginning Tuesday, January 15, 1901, and continuing in session until the work of the convention shall have been completed.

The purpose of this convention will be to make such changes in the laws of the party and to make such other provisions as may be deemed necessary to meet the growing demands of the organization. It is our purpose to enter at once upon a vigorous campaign of agitation, education and organization, so that the party shall be fully equipped to meet the capitalist enemy on the political battle-fields of the future. Now that the presidential campaign is over, our work is fairly begun and must be carried forward with all possible energy without the loss of a single hour.

The basis and other conditions of representation will be the same as at the Indianapolis Convention, and are here incorporated as follows:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

Unaffiliated Socialist clubs or societies whose members may desire to connect themselves with the Social Democratic party, are cordially invited to communicate through their proper officials with the Secretary of the National Executive Board, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

This call is issued to all branches of the Social Democratic party in good standing, as shown by the records at 126 Washington street, Chicago, and organized prior to December 15, 1900. The time and place of meeting and other details will be given in the Herald as soon as arrangements are completed.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary.

FREDERIC HEATH, Chairman.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Have you chosen your delegates to the national convention? Don't miss it.

There is important business awaiting action of the convention delegates. Let the branches see to it that they are properly represented.

Prospects for a good attendance at the national convention are excellent. Every branch should make a special effort to be represented.

There will be a meeting Thursday evening at 8 o'clock, at Reform Hall, 312 N. 12th St., of St. Louis, Mo. branches for the purpose of organizing a City Central Committee.

A joint meeting of all S. D. P. members at Rockville, Conn., will be held Sunday, Jan. 6, 2 p. m., at the town hall. All comrades are urged to be present.

Comrades of Branch 1, Milwaukee, are notified that there will be a special meeting Thursday, Jan. 10, 1901, at Kaiser's hall. A full attendance is desired.

Information received after The Herald went to press last week is to the effect that the Social Democratic party vote in Texas is 1,846, and in Alabama 928, making the grand total for the country 96,878.

Comrade Chas. H. Vail, author of "Principles of Scientific Socialism," and a well-known contributor to The Herald, has been forced from his pulpit in Jersey City and will stand as the Social Democratic candidate for governor of New Jersey.

The Herald takes pleasure in calling the attention of its readers to the eighth annual ball to be given by the Lassalle Political and Educational club of Chicago at Medinah temple, Jackson boulevard and Fifth avenue, Saturday evening, Jan. 12. Tickets, 50 cents.

The "unionists" in Nebraska, under Ricker's leadership, are getting along famously, although the present outlook is that few of the revolutionary spirits of populism will be attracted to it. The editor-in-chief of the Nebraska Socialist, Kharas, from whom Ricker takes his orders, has been expelled by Branch 1 of Omaha for cause.

The lectures on the ethical aspects of Socialism by Prof. George D. Herron begin at Central Music hall next Sunday afternoon, Jan. 6, at 3:30 o'clock. Judging from the interest already manifested, Central Music hall will be well filled to greet Prof. Herron at his first lecture. Prof. Herron is one of the most powerful and untiring advocates of the cause of Socialism in the country, and no pains should be spared by Chicago Socialists to see that there is a great attendance at the Sunday lectures. All lectures are free. Cards advertising the same may be had of the Social Crusade, 609 Ashland block.

NEW BRANCHES

New Jersey, one.
Indiana, one.

THE CITY CONVENTION

Social Democratic Party

To all Members and Branches of the Social Democratic Party in Chicago: You are hereby notified that, in accordance with resolutions adopted by the city central committee at a regular meeting, Wednesday, Dec. 26, 1900, a convention will be held at Nagle's hall, 525 Blue Island avenue, at 7:30 p. m., Saturday, Jan. 12, 1901, for the purpose of nominating candidates to represent the party in the municipal election next spring—namely, mayor, city clerk, city treasurer and city attorney.

All members in good standing of branches affiliated with the Social Democratic party, 126 Washington street, will be entitled to admission as delegates and every branch is urged to send a full representation.

J. H. Greer, chairman.
M. Holsinger, secretary.

Illinois Comrades

A call issued for a state convention, addressed to branches of the Social Democratic party and signed by F. G. Strickland and others, is without authority or sanction from any committee or representative body of the Social Democratic party in this state. F. G. Strickland has no authority to represent the Social Democratic party; the "joint campaign committee," for which he assumes to speak, has no existence; the Social Democratic party is in no way represented by any call or document emanating from that source. Illinois comrades are, therefore, cautioned to pay no heed to the call.

The National Convention

Delegates to the national convention, to be held at Chicago Jan. 15, will take notice that arrangements have been made to hold the sessions at Aldine hall, Randolph street, between State and Dearborn.

Large achievements often have their beginnings in small things. Comrade Charles Payson of Roxbury, Mass., has learned this by experience. He began by carrying around with him a few copies of The Herald and giving them away to friends. He has now worked up interest to the point where he finds it easy to take subscriptions, and his lists come in with due regularity. But it can't be done without samples. Order a bundle.

It is well enough to be a goose if you are willing to be plucked; a sheep if you are willing to be sheared; an ass if you are willing to carry burdens for other people; or a wage slave if you are willing to be kicked, cuffed and cheated out of your earnings. But it is better to be a Socialist, manly, courageous, defiant, inspired by high ambitions and working to secure a better civilization.

Corrected S. D. P. Vote

Alabama	928
California	7,572
Colorado	687
Connecticut	1,029
Delaware	56
Florida	601
Georgia	300
Illinois	9,687
Indiana	2,374
Iowa	2,742
Kansas	1,605
Kentucky	760
Maine	887
Maryland	876
Massachusetts	9,617
Michigan	2,826
Minnesota	3,065
Missouri	6,128
Montana	708
Nebraska	820
New Hampshire	790
New Jersey	4,609
New York	12,869
North Dakota	518
Ohio	4,835
Oregon	1,470
Pennsylvania	4,831
South Dakota	169
Tennessee	415
Texas	1,846
Utah	720
Vermont	371
Washington	2,006
West Virginia	219
Wisconsin	7,095
Total	96,878

A Christmas Dance

Greeting and a Happy New Year to the comrades: On Christmas eve, Dec. 24, 1900, Branch 4, Bingham, Utah, gave a masquerade ball which was a grand success in every detail. While it was not very largely attended, owing to there being a case of smallpox in the camp, yet all who did attend had a fine time. Those who attended who were not members had an opportunity to learn that the Socialists could conduct a dance as satisfactorily as any one else. I am impressed with the idea that great good can be accomplished in this way, as it will dispel the idea so prevalent that the Socialists are a set of fanatics with no rational conception of what the essentials of happiness are.

As soon as the world learns that the Socialist has a definitely formulated ideal and that ideal the highest possible degree of human happiness, then it will be that Socialism will take upon itself a new aspect, a marvelous growth. John F. Osborn.

Bingham, Utah.

Bryan has concluded that between his mouth and his pen, the latter has superior staying qualities, can stand up for six rounds and rake in the gate money.

There are numerous funny things happening nowadays, but nothing more humorous than the meetings of democratic minorities, where the leaders (?) discuss needed repairs to the Jeffersonian bandwagon for another campaign.

The difference between Bryan and McKinley appears to be that Bryan doesn't know when he's got enough, and McKinley doesn't know when he's got too much. Bryan has got a rapid-firing mouth, and McKinley a hundred or more rapid-firing guns.

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NATIONAL CONVENTION JANUARY 15